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from C. B. Shaw

SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT

A PUBLIC MEETING

OF THE

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, BRANCH

OF THE

Imperial Federation League,

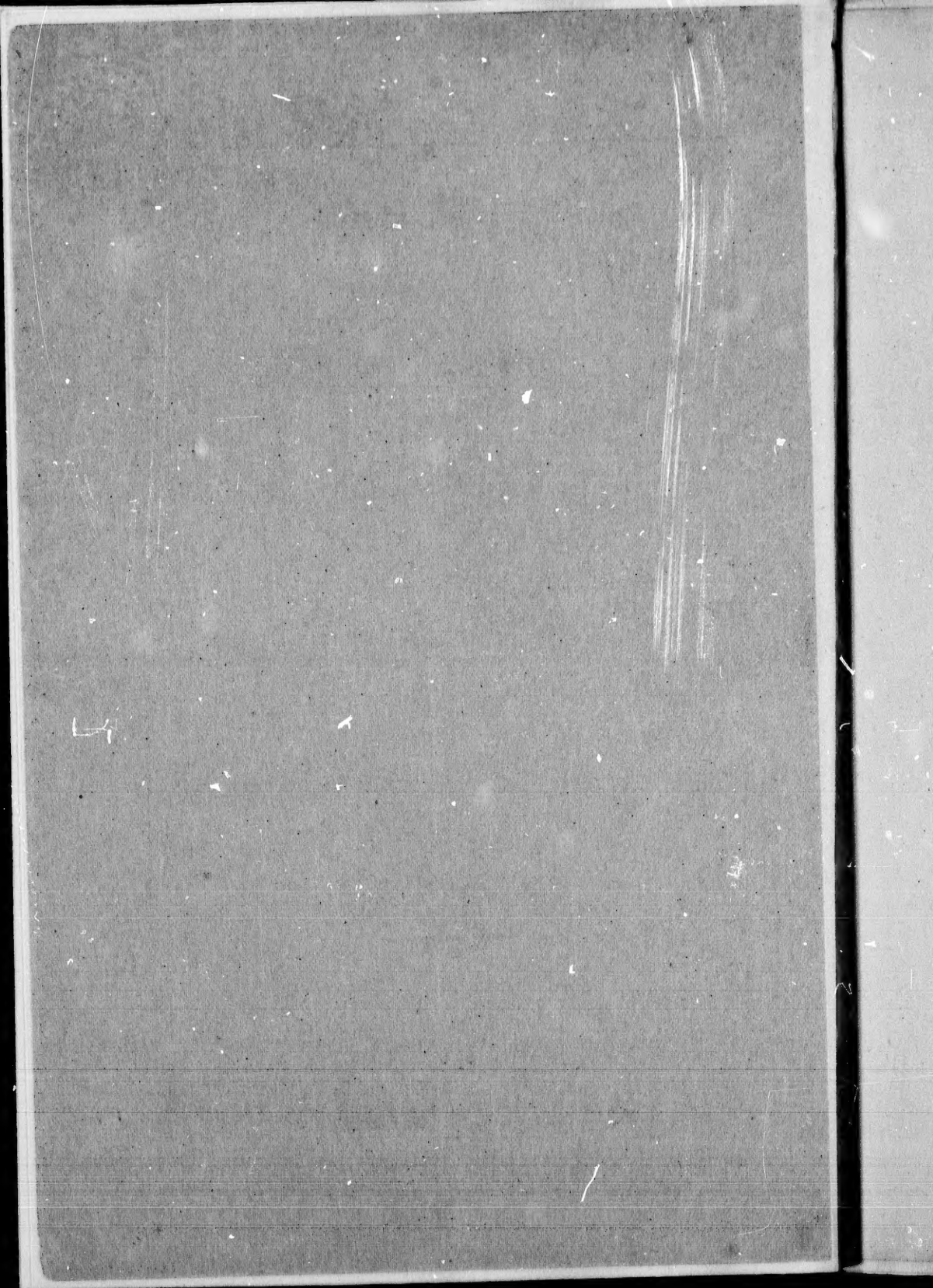
HELD AT

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, HALIFAX,

4TH JUNE, 1888.

HALIFAX, N. S. :

PUBLISHED BY HALIFAX BRANCH IMPERIAL FEDERATION
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Imperial Federation League,

43 ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S. W.

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Vice-Chairman:

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HALIFAX BRANCH OF THE

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Address Corresponding Secretary, 16 Inglis Street, Halifax, N. S.

Imperial Federation League in Canada.

The present movement in favor of Imperial Federation was initiated at a Conference of a very influential character held in London on the 29th July, 1884, under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M. P. Among those present were many leading Canadians, including:—Sir Charles Tupper; Hon. Oliver Mowat; D'Alton McCarthy, M. P.; Col. Gzowski (Toronto); R. R. Dobell (Quebec); Peter Redpath (late of Montreal); and letters were sent by Sir Alex. T. Galt and the Hon. Donald A. Smith (now Sir Donald A. Smith, M. P.)

This Conference was adjourned to the 18th of November of the same year, when the Imperial Federation League was formally organized with Mr. Forster as its first Chairman.

Upon the death of Mr. Forster, the Earl of Rosebery accepted the chairmanship, and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope was appointed Vice-Chairman.

The Imperial Federation League in Canada was formed at a meeting held in Montreal on the 9th May, 1885, which was largely attended by Members of Parliament and other leading men from all parts of the Dominion, including a formal deputation from Toronto. The following Resolutions were adopted and form the basis of the movement in this country:

CONSTITUTION.

1. That this meeting has observed with satisfaction the increased interest in the outlying portions of the Empire displayed by the people of the Mother Country, and the formation under the auspices of many distinguished practical statesmen of THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.
2. That to the end that the Mother Country and her Colonies may remain perpetually under a common sovereignty, a United Empire in its foreign affairs, with constitutional liberty for every part as regards internal administra-

tion, a readjustment of the several constitutional authorities of the Empire should, as occasion arises, be made in such manner as to increase the practical efficiency of Imperial unity.

3. That the resolutions passed at the Conference held in London on the 29th July, 1884, and at the inaugural meeting of the League on the 18th November, 1884, and notably the following:

That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential.

That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments, as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights.

meet with the hearty acceptance of this meeting.

4. That a Canadian Branch of the League be now formed, to be called THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA, and that the object of the League in Canada shall be to promote the discussion of means whereby the permanent unity of the Empire may be maintained, and its practical efficiency increased, to further the development and interchange of the resources of its various parts, and to resist any measures tending to disintegration.
5. That the membership shall be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly subscription of at least One Dollar, out of which the necessary fees for affiliation with the League in London shall be paid.
6. That the League shall meet annually in one of the principle cities in Canada, the place of meeting for each year to be selected at the preceding annual meeting.
7. That the business of the League shall be conducted by a General Committee, to be now appointed, with power to add to their number; that the General Committee be instructed to adopt such means as they may find convenient to promote the objects of the League, and that they furnish a report at the next meeting.
8. That the co-operation of men of all political parties in every part of Canada be sought for the establishment of branches, which shall have power to elect representatives on the General Committee.

Subsequently an Executive Committee was named with representatives from every Province, who have thus far superintended the work in this country.

The League in Canada was represented at the Imperial Federation Conference held last year in London, among the speakers at which were:—Sir A. T. Galt, who read a paper; Hon. W. G. Ross, of the Provincial Government, Ontario; G. R. Parkin, and others; and also upon the deputation which waited upon the Marquis of Salisbury to urge him to call an Imperial Conference, which has since been done. Mr. Sandford Fleming, one of the Canadian representatives at the Imperial Conference, has been a member of the League in Canada since its inception.

At a meeting of the General Committee, held at Ottawa, in the Tower Room, House of Commons, and largely attended by Members of Parliament, on the 20th June, 1887, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved—"That this meeting suggests for consideration Imperial Reciprocity as the trade policy most in accordance with the objects of the League, and reiterates the opinion that trade between different parts of the Empire should take place upon more favorable terms than trade with foreign nations."

HALIFAX BRANCH.

On December 23rd, 1886, a large and influential meeting was held at Mason's Hall, Halifax, at which the Halifax Branch of the Imperial Federation League was formed; and a large number of active members have been enrolled, among whom are the following: Sir Adams G. Archibald; Archbishop O'Brien; Bishop Courtney; Chief Justice McDonald; W. C. Silver, President of the Chamber of Commerce; P. O'Mullin, Mayor; J. C. Mackintosh, ex-Mayor of Halifax; M. B. Daly, ex-M. P.; Robert Pickford; John F. Stairs, ex-M. P.; Alderman Stephen; John Doull; B. W. Chipman, Warden of Halifax County; Adam Burns; Hon. S. L. Shapton; M. P. Black; Peter Lynch, Q. C.; Rev. Dr. Partridge; Rev. Dr. Hole; Benj. Russell, Recorder of Dartmouth; C. S. Harrington, Q. C.; H. McD. Henry, Q. C.; R. Sedgewick, Q. C.; T. E. Kenny, M. P.; C. H. Tupper, M. P.; F. G. Parker; John P. Mott; Rev. F. R. Murray; J. S. Maclean; H. H. Fuller; David Allison, Superintendent of Education; F. Blake Crofton, Provincial Librarian;

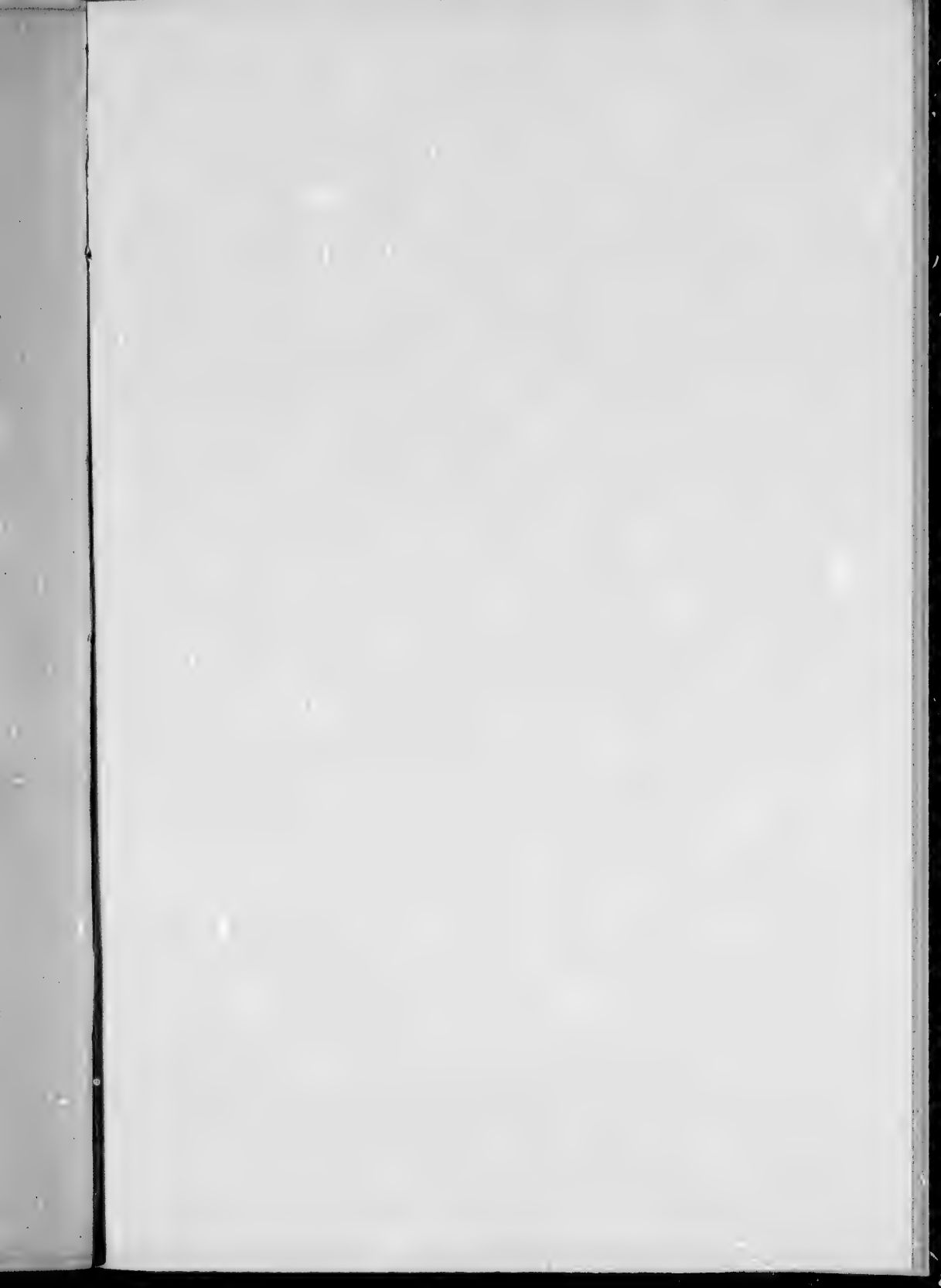
Major-General Laurie, M. P.; Robert Motton, Stipendiary of Halifax; J. E. Chipman; John Naylor; Colonel McDonald; Capt. Rawson; A. H. Mackinlay; Judge Savary, (Digby); Rev. Principal Forrest, Dalhousie College; Prof. Butler, King's College; R. G. Leckie, Spring Hill; and over one hundred other representative citizens.

Of other prominent residents of Nova Scotia who are also members of the League we may mention Hon. Justice Townshend; Senator A. MacFarlane; J. N. Freeman, M. P.; John A. Macdonald, M. P.; David McKeen, M. P.; John MacDougald, M. P.; John B. Mills, M. P.; Dr. R. C. Weldon, M. P.; A. C. Bell, ex-M. P. P., and others.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION MEETING AT HALIFAX.

The Halifax Branch of the Imperial Federation League held a Public Meeting at the Academy of Music, Halifax, on the evening of June 4th, 1888, to which all who were in sympathy with the objects of the League were invited to be present. The purpose of the meeting was to promote the discussion of means whereby the permanent unity of the Empire may be maintained. There were present between seven and eight hundred of representative citizens.

The platform was handsomely decorated with flags and bunting. Sir Adams Archibald presided, and among others on the platform were General Sir John Ross, commander of the forces in British North America, then acting Governor-General of Canada; His Grace the Archbishop of Halifax; Rev. E. F. Murphy, P.P.; Rev. Canon Partridge, D.D.; Mayor O'Mullin, Rev. Dr. Hole, W. C. Silver, President Chamber of Commerce; Rev. Robert Laing, ex-Mayor Mackintosh, Rev. F. H. Almon, Rev. W. B. King, General Laurie, M. P.; J. E. Chipman, Judge Motton, Senator Almon, M. B. Daly, ex-M.P.; Dr. Oliver, Col. Stewart, John F. Stairs, ex-M.P.; Adam Burns, John Doull, Captain Rawson, R. E.;





Joseph Wood, Colonel Lane, C. H. Cahan, F. Blake Crofton, Provincial Librarian, Prof. C. F. Fraser, Col. Wainwright, Dr. Almon, C. H. Harrington, Q. C., and others.

SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD said:—

That the present meeting had been convened because it was thought by the Executive Committee that the time had arrived when it was desirable to place before the citizens of Halifax a statement of the aims and objects which the Imperial Federation League was formed to promote. To some of those present this would be a work of supererogation—for they had followed the movement from the beginning and knew as well as himself what had been done and what was being done by the League. But there were probably many others of the audience who had not had their attention drawn to the subject, and were therefore not familiar with the history, the aims, or the objects of the League. He trusted therefore that those well informed on the subject, would bear with him for a few moments, while in regard to the other class of the audience, he, by way of introduction to the main business of the meeting, should make a few references to the origin and history of the movement.

The idea of Imperial Federation was by no means a new one. It had occurred a long time ago to far-seeing men while trying to forecast the future. Haliburton has made repeated references to it in his books, and shadowed it forth as a necessity of the future. Another Nova Scotian who had in early life made his home on the Western coast of the Dominion, claims to have been for some time the author of the first formal treatise on the subject. But the first practical statesman who called attention to it was the Hon. Joseph Howe, who many years ago in a speech made in the Provincial Assembly, one of the most splendid speeches ever made in a Colonial Legislature, a speech which attracted attention from leading public men not only here but in Great Britain, had propounded his idea as to the future of the Empire, unless it was allowed to break into pieces, and fall into insignificance.

But Mr. Howe, like many highly gifted men, was before his time. The world was not ready for the reception of his idea, and many years had passed away before any practical steps were taken to realize his idea. It was not till a very recent period that the question had seemed to come within the domain of practical politics. So late as 1884—only four years ago—indeed not quite four years, for it had been on the 29th July of that year, a few earnest and thoughtful men had met in London to consider the question of our future, and to discuss the propriety of taking some measures to provide for the continuance of the Unity of Empire. The men who had met on that occasion were not doctrinaires. They were practical statesmen. Some of them had filled high offices in England, others

in different colonies, all were men of great business capacity.' The meeting was presided over by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, one of the ablest of British statesmen. He had been a colleague of Mr. Gladstone and a member of his Government, and had the highest reputation for ability and sagacity. The matter was fully discussed at that meeting. Nothing decisive, however, had then been resolved on, but at an adjourned meeting held some four months later, on the 14th November, 1884, it was decided to form a League to further the objects contemplated by the meeting.

The League was then formed with Mr. Forster at its head. The death of that gentleman, which occurred shortly afterwards, would have been a serious blow to the organization if his mantle had not fallen upon the shoulders of Lord Rosebery, another brilliant statesman, also a supporter and particular friend of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery held such a position in the ranks of the Liberal party in England that he would probably succeed Mr. Gladstone as leader of the party when that statesman should retire from the field.

But though the first two presidents were men high in the confidence of the Liberal party, the League was by no means a party organization. (Cheers.) Its Vice-Chairman was the Hon. Edward Stanhope, then Secretary for the Colonies, and the Executive Committee comprised a body of men of the widest political experience in every part of the British Empire, men of every creed, political or religious. (Cheers.) And well might all politics and creeds unite in such an organization. The objects of the League are clearly defined in the Constitution adopted at its formation. The Constitution while aiming at combining the interests of the whole Empire for the maintenance of common interests, laid down as a cardinal principle that no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments. This provision left us to deal with our own affairs as freely and absolutely as we could at this moment. And surely there could be no reason why men of both parties—men indeed of any party, desirous of maintaining the integrity of the Empire, should not cordially unite in devising a scheme for preserving that integrity. (Cheers.)

He was of the opinion that much of the same absence of party lines which had distinguished the movement in England was to be found here. (Hear! hear!) Warm friends of the cause were to be found in the ranks of both our political parties. They met on a common platform. They wished to sustain the power and prestige of the flag of their common country. Whether therefore England was ruled by a Gladstone or a Salisbury; whether Canada was ruled by a McDonald or a McKenzie, a Tupper or a Blake; there could be no reason why men of both parties could not stand shoulder to shoulder working in a national cause, a cause which rose high above party divisions and local politics. (Cheers.) Indeed under constitutional government too much is sacrificed to party even in matters of

less moment. In the parent country men were beginning to see this; and he was glad to observe that a number of members of both Houses of Parliament in England had met lately to narrow the limits of party division and had agreed to deal with certain questions entirely outside of party lines. This was common sense. Possibly our organization consisting of all parties in the State might have suggested the new movement. Whether it had, or had not, the idea of this kind of action is entirely conformable with the example set by the League. It is well for men to have common grounds to meet on. Moral, social, and national questions should be far above and beyond the range of party animosities. (Cheers).

But it must be clearly understood that the object of the League was to promote discussion and consideration, with a view gradually to evolve some scheme which would carry out the aims set forth in the constitution of the League. Englishmen believed in evolution, not revolution. They never had a cast-iron constitution. The germs of the free governments of England and of its colonies were very unlike the responsible government of to-day. We never could have had what we have now if an attempt had been made in the beginning to frame a constitution such as now exists. We believe in growth and development. The silent progress of free institutions is safer than violent constitutional changes. (Applause.)

The League has already done much to carry out its ideas. The Imperial conference of year before last was an informal parliament. It has led the parent country to do much for the unity of the Empire that would not have been done if the conference had not been held. Theoretically it was not a representative body; practically it was; and it had done great good. The conference will be renewed, with changes and improvements; and as time goes on some development of the idea will gradually take shape, and result in a scheme which will serve the purposes of an Imperial constitution.

It must be remembered that it was not four years since the League was formed, and already the idea was taking hold of a large and respectable section of the people at the heart of the empire, and in every colony. Men are beginning to see that things could not continue as they were. Already the English out of Great Britain are one-quarter the number of those in it, and proportionately are increasing five times as rapidly as they are in the parent country. In fifty years, Englishmen in the colonies will outnumber those at the heart of the Empire. (Cheers). It is as clear that great changes must take place, and are at hand. The Empire must be either a unity, or else broken up into numerous fragments. It is our aim to use every means to keep it one. We have united to aid in upholding the prestige and power of the greatest Empire that has ever existed. (Applause).

Sir Adams then called upon the Rev. D. M. Gordon to move the first resolution.

REV. D. M. GORDON

said he did not know what particular object the Committee had in procuring such a generous sprinkling of clerical speakers, unless it was that they, being so far removed from politics, were better able to look at the question of Imperial Federation with unbiased vision. He suggested as a fitting motto for the League the old ecclesiastical maxim, "Unity in things essential, Liberty in things non-essential, and Charity in all things." The Rev. Joseph Cook, the famous American lecturer, had said that the British subject who did not take hold of the matter of Imperial Federation with enthusiasm was a Philistine of the first magnitude. (Laughter.)

Something was wanted to weld more firmly together the British Empire. He took for granted that all wished to retain British connection. There was a time in the history of the various portions of Canada when a desire to be joined to another country might have sprung up in the breasts of some, but that time had long gone by. (Cheers.) To-day no Canadian statesman would dare stand up in Parliament and advocate separation from the mother country. (Renewed cheering.) Should such a question arise he knew not who would be the more loyal, Sir John Macdonald or Alex. Mackenzie. And in the matter of Imperial Federation we had no more eloquent advocate than Edward Blake. (Hear, hear.)

We want to continue under the old flag; but our present connection with the British Empire has not the elements of permanence. In the carrying on of internal affairs we are wholly dependent upon the mother country. We are more like subjects than citizens. The desire is for a closer relation of all parts of the empire to each other, and this the Imperial Federation League was seeking to effect. On the broad platform of the League all of the British Empire can stand. No distinct scheme had been yet proposed. The League was not committed to any. It seeks to foster public opinion on the subject rather than to place before the people a cut and dried scheme for adoption. No statesman had yet been able to submit a practical plan, and only a dreamer would attempt at this stage to put forward a scheme and expect it to be successful.

There were serious difficulties to be met. Fiscal arrangements to suit all the colonies, would be extremely difficult to make; but not impossible. Difficult questions might arise in regard to war, but while we might not be prepared to join England in an aggressive war, we would readily take part in defending the mother country in case of an attack. Then there was the question of representation in the councils of Great Britain. These were serious questions which must be met at the outset. But they were not insoluble. He believed in the power of British statesmen to handle such questions. (Cheers.)

When the Colonial Empire of Britain was first acquired, greater difficulties would then have stared any one in the face who might have proposed Imperial Federation. At that time such a proposal was manifestly impracticable on account of the distance of the Colonies from the mother country. That difficulty, however, had passed away through the medium of steam and electricity. To-day it was easier for England to communicate with her remotest Colonies, than it was for the remotest parts of England and Scotland to communicate at the time these two countries became one.

Difficulties must not cause inactivity. We must go on until every stone has been rolled away, relying on the ability of our statesmen to wrestle with the subject manfully and successfully. The League was doing good work in enlightening the public. A scheme of Federation to be successful must be "broad-based upon the people's will." The people must demand it and the statesmen must carry it out. Sentiment and opinion will grow until the movement becomes a grand success. (Applause.) He had great pleasure in moving :

That this meeting of Halifax citizens desires to express and record its gratification at the rapid progress which the Idea of Imperial Federation has made, alike in Canada and in the mother country ; and its confident hope that by continued exertions on the part of the League public sentiment will become more and more pronounced in favor of the objects which the League was formed to promote.

REV. F. PARTRIDGE, D.D.

I arise to second this resolution. If I had taken alarm at the threats of a certain portion of the press of this city, I should not have the honor of seconding this resolution to-night. (Laughter.) But part of the reason why I was glad to be here, is that I might proclaim my entire reprobation of the endeavor which has been made to stamp this magnificent cause with the seal of party. (Cheers.) If there is one thing more than another which retards the progress of the Dominion to which we belong, it is the virulence, the narrow-mindedness, the scurrilousness, the determination to impute bad motives, which characterizes the party press. (Hear, hear.) Why should it be necessary to cover with abuse one who differs from you ? Why should it be a tenet of legitimate political warfare to deny all prescience, all political foresight, all intellectual ability, all common honesty, to those who are on the opposite side of what after all is an open question ?

I came to this country, Mr. Chairman, twenty years ago, an Englishman, brought up in the straitest sect of conservatism. I am free to confess, that since I have been in this country, I have learned many things undreamt of before. I have learned that Britain has colonies. I have learned that British Colonies have produced

statesmen of the highest order. I have learned that responsible government is safely to be entrusted to every portion of this vast empire. I have learned that outside of Great Britain is a Greater Britain, the hearts of whose sons and daughters, if they are only allowed to do so, throb with love to their mother, and who regard the unity and stability of the empire as the highest aim of statesmanship. (Cheers.) There are troubles in existence. There are strifes and divisions; but God rules. Above the malevolence of party strife, above the contention of creeds and races, infinitely above the smallness of crotchety individuals; truth and righteousness and justice abide and shall stand forever! Therefore, I, as a clergyman, rejoice to be present. (Cheers.)

I am honored in being asked to contribute to the forward motion of this great idea. I refuse to be included by anonymous writers in the ranks of those who would "stain their skirts with party warfare." I have voted as I have felt. Where there is statesmanlike grip of passing events, where there is boldness and adaptiveness to the times; where there is fearless disregard of petty consequences; where there is the patriotic and broad sentiment which has led England through many a difficulty; there am I. And I do not hesitate to say, that where these things are, whatever be the name which the world accepts, whatever be the color or badges which distinguishes; there shall my influence help. I refuse therefore to be ticketed, to be accused of party manœuvring. (Cheers.) I am here as a citizen of Halifax; as an adopted son of Nova Scotia; as a subject of an empire on which the sun never sets. Where love of country and home bears rule; where duty to humanity is the foremost thought; where opportunities and powers, and historical impetus drive; there let us tend; there let us lose party; there let the best minds of all shades concentrate. (Applause.)

The federation of this vast empire is a grand thought. Even those whose narrow-minded selfishness and party spirit lead them to oppose, must admire it. Britain is an empire now such as the world has never seen. Alexander's dream was a great one. When he accomplished it on a very restricted field he died, and his kingdom was divided between four, who could not hold it. Napoleon also strove for universal dominion and lost it at Waterloo. But Britain's Queen reigns over portions of all quarters of the habitable globe. There is no part of the earth over which the flag of the free does not fly. And the tendency of the age is to draw all the parts of her vast empire together. (Hear, hear.)

When a few years ago the Russian guns thundered at the gates of Constantinople, and one day's march would have gained them admittance, never more to retire, what drove them back from the goal of their ambition? The hand of a trembling old man, tottering with years, but of terrorless instincts, which sent the British fleet up the Dardanelles, and brought the Indian thousands to fight their

mother's battle! When England again needed a helping hand and the scorching sands of East Africa were slaying her soldiers, what brought the Australian contingent across the ocean but the love of mother England? What took Canadian Voyageurs up the Nile, but the desire to participate in the enterprise of the British flag, which ever waves over the oppressed and downtrodden. (Applause.)

It is too late to oppose Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) The sound of it is in the air. (Renewed cheering.) The mighty proposal has been launched and will yet ride the surging seas. What the cause needs is a leader. Let him be raised up, and take the tide at the flood, and it shall bear him on to victory. Britain has now an empire such as the world has never seen. She rules the waves and guides the destinies of by far the greater portion of the world. Federate her vast possessions; gather her children under one flag; concentrate her unbounded wealth, influence, mind, religion, civilizing power; and you have the fulfillment of the dream of the ages past; and the embodiment of the Incarnation.

There are those who would annex, for small and selfish reasons, for pelf and for gold, this country to the United States. Granted, what I for one do not believe, that their petty politics prevail. Then we shall have the pleasure, by and by, of swinging along the United States as well in the glorious triumph which will attend the British Empire. For to the English speaking races belong the dominion and evangelization of the world. Everything points to that. To that let the citizens of Halifax contribute their little part. On that let the vast resources of the British Empire concentrate their power. To that great end, fraught with the blessings of civilization and religion, let the high endeavours and the earnest prayers, of her people and language, ascend to the Almighty arbiter of nations! (Applause.)

The Chairman then read the resolution, and it was passed unanimously.

HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP O'BRIEN

moved the second resolution:

That this meeting, while re-affirming, as a cardinal principle of Imperial Federation that the control of Local Parliaments over local affairs shall remain wholly untouched and as unrestricted as it now is, nevertheless is of opinion that the time is at hand when a federation of the whole Empire must be formed in such a manner as to combine the resources of the whole for the maintenance of common interests and an organized defence of common rights.

His Grace said: This resolution expresses a cardinal principle of the Federation League, and embodies its hopes and aspirations. For the grand aim and end of the Federation League is to unite in bonds of amity, under conditions which may be mutually advantageous, the various lands which now constitute so many disjointed

members of the British Empire. These are now like the dry and scattered bones of the Prophet's vision; but even as those bones came together and fell into place at the word of a superior power, even so do we hope to see each little isle, each distant province, each colony and state of this Empire come together, and knitted into one grand whole in which individuality will not be swallowed up in union, but unity secured and perfected by the guaranteed autonomy of each unit. This is our aim and end.

In order to clear away the cloud of apprehension and suspicion that, consciously or unconsciously, for party purposes has been cast over this movement, permit me, sir, to make a few explanations. It is a first principle of the League, and is expressed in the resolution, that no encroachment is to be made on local governing power. (Cheers.) No member of any branch in Canada, or Australia, would tolerate the suggestion that we should surrender, by one jot or tittle, our right of self-government. (Renewed cheering.) No sir; what our fathers won we will sacredly defend. The old colonial days have passed away forever; their re-call is as impossible as that of the years of our childhood. The League is not a survival of the past; its voice is not the echo of hopelessly dead sentiments; its organization and its fibre are of the freedom of to-day; and its words are the aspirations of the widening future. (Cheers.) If we look back, it is only to learn a lesson on the value of freedom; but we look ahead for inspiration. Our work is for the future more than for the present.

The League is eminently a progressive movement. In this connection I may express, sir, my individual hope that we will soon outgrow one of the remaining leading strings which tie us to our mother's apron, viz.: the getting of a Governor-General from England. (Applause and laughter.) We can easily produce occupants better fitted for the position. As a self-respecting Canadian, I own, sir, to a certain sense of humiliation when reading of the arrival or departure of a Governor-General. What is only, as I would fain believe, lip-courtesy, is, I fear, taken seriously by those in England. Let us hope that all this may soon be changed.

There is no danger then of encroachment on local autonomy to be apprehended from the League, and thus one of the bugaboos conjured up to frighten the unwary is effectually laid, without the help of bell, book, or candle. Closely connected with this vanishing goblin is another which appears to a certain class of our people.

Some of those in favor of Home Rule for Ireland fear that Imperial Federation would retard, or render impossible the attainment of that object. This is not the place to discuss the question of Home Rule for Ireland; still I trust, sir, I may be pardoned a passing reference to it. From my childhood I have been in favor of it; to attain it I would bless and adopt every means within the ten commandments. (Cheers.) So sacred, sir, is the virtue of justice

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to me, and the right of national liberty, that I deem them cheaply purchased by centuries of suffering. With these sentiments animating every fibre of my being, I believe and maintain that Imperial Federation would strengthen rather than weaken the prospects of Home Rule. (Loud Applause.)

My own conviction is that Ireland's right to self-government will be recognized in a very short time; then Federation would perfect and safeguard it. But should my conviction not be realized in the near future, what possible injury could Federation do to Ireland? Is not the overwhelming majority of Canada, of Australia and other self-governing provinces in favor of Home Rule? (Cheering.) And if federated would not that vast majority, thus bound together, act to some purpose in obtaining for their fellow citizens their proper place as arbiters of their local affairs? Certainly reason, their own feelings, and the logic events, would lead to this. Hence we look upon this apprehension of Home Rulers as groundless; whilst on the other hand we can conclude that the local rights of each factor of federation will be secured and made permanent by Imperial Federation.

But whilst we thus unhesitatingly assert, and are prepared to defend the untrammelled action of local parliaments over local affairs, and whilst we yield to none in love for the principle of free responsible government, still we think the time is at hand, or is just approaching, when a federation of the various countries of the Empire must be made for the common benefit of its parts. I shall, briefly dwell on this point. The observant student of our progressive development must be convinced that Canada, at least, cannot remain much longer in its embryotic stage of existence. All its pulses are throbbing with the rich blood of a young and vigorous life; its organism has well nigh reached perfection; and its intellectual faculties are keenly alive to the grandeur of its destiny. (Cheers.) All, I think, admit that a change must soon come. Now, as we are, I trust, too sensible to fall into anarchy, one of three courses is open to us—*independence, annexation, or federation.*

Practically we are independent now, so far as real freedom of government is concerned. We have all the blessings of liberty without the cost of supporting a monarchy and without the social demoralization of a Presidential campaign. (Applause and laughter.) I take it that the wiser part of this Dominion will be in no hurry to exchange this cheaply maintained liberty, for the very doubtful benefits of a costly independence as a monarchy, or for that national decadence which has ever dogged the steps of every republic the world has ever known. (Cheers.)

What shall we say of annexation? There are, I doubt not, a few unreflecting Canadians who sigh for annexation, (laughter) misled by the catch cry of a vast market for our farm products, and dazzled by visions of untold wealth sure to fall, not like a summer shower, but like an autumn down-pour, over an annexed Canada. (Laughter.)

Men will have their delusions, (Renewed laughter) harmless ones at times ; but hurtful also on other occasions. And some men too will close their eyes to passing events and become, not dreamers of a grand and noble dream, but fretful bewailers of a past that can never return. (Applause.) Let us, as reasonable men, compare the condition of farmers in Canada with that of farmers in the United States. What do we find ? Will any man, who knows whereof he speaks, dare assert that our agricultural population is behind that of the United States in education, in refinement of manners, in material comforts, or in moral and civic virtue ? I am not now arguing, nor do I intend to argue, from a sentimental standpoint. I am a Canadian, loyal to Canada, proud of her, devoted to her (Cheers) ; but, so far as the "old flag" argument is concerned, I leave that to those who may think it a valid one. It is chiefly, if not wholly, to the good of Canada that I am looking. If then, it is certain, as it is certain, that the Canadian farmer is fully as prosperous, as free, and more clear of debt than his brother in the United States, what inducement is there for him to sink his national aspiration, and to become an insignificant factor of an uncogent community ? Surely there is none. And yet those who have been asleep for the last ten or fifteen years (Laughter) tell of the fabulous prices which farm products would bring were we only annexed to the United States.

Sir, the prices of the past can never be realized again. Fourteen years ago oats sold readily in P. E. I., for fifty cents a bushel. We had, some will say, reciprocity then. Yes ; but to-day oats can be bought for much less than that in New York. Pork, at that time, found a ready market at eight cents,—now it can be bought for less than six in New York. And so we might go through the list of farm products and we would find that allowing for the expense of transportation these products are nearly as cheap in New York as in P. E. I. or Nova Scotia. And with the still further opening up of the farming lands of the Western States, the cheapening of the cost of production, and increased facilities of transportation, it is more than probable that all the products of the farm will be cheaper in New York and Boston than in Halifax or Montreal. It is time for men who pretend to lead public opinion to wake up to the changed conditions of the agricultural industry in the past decade ; and to the still greater changes in the near future. (Cheers.)

There is another small section of Canadians in favor of annexation. Some are men of intellectual parts, and fired with aspirations of political greatness. (Laughter.) They think they perceive a wider field for the successful employment of their talents in an annexed Canada. (Renewed laughter.) To these I would merely say : become one of us ; help to lay broad and deep the foundation of a world-circling power. It will afford ample scope for all legitimate ambitions, and be a work worthy of the mightiest intellects.

(Cheers.) There are, however, others of this section, less worthy of respect. They are men who have not courage to face great national problems, but think it wisdom to become the Cassandras of every noble undertaking. These men have for leader and mouthpiece Goldwin Smith, the peripatetic prophet of pessimism. (Laughter and applause.) Because forsooth, his own life has been a dismal failure,—because his overweening vanity was badly injured in its collision with Canadian common sense,—because we would not take phrases void of sense for apothegms of wisdom, he, the fossilized enemy of local autonomy, (Applause) and the last defender of bigotry, has put his feeble curse on Canadian nationality, and assumed the leadership of the gruesome crowd of Mrs. Gummages, (Laughter and cheers) who see no future for Canada but vassalage to the United States. Let them, if it so pleases, wring their hands in cowardly despair. But are we, the decendants of mighty races, the inheritors of a vast patrimony, the heirs of noble traditions, so poor in resources, or so degenerate as to know no form of action save the tears and hand wringings of diamal forebodings? It is an insult, and should be resented as such, to be told that annexation is our destiny. (Prolonged cheering.)

The promoters of Imperial Federation are called dreamers. Well, their dream is at least an ennobling one—one that appeals to all the noble sentiments of manhood. But what we are to say to the dreary prophets of evil, the decriers of their country, the traitors of their magnificent inheritance? They are not dreamers; they are the dazed victims of a hideous nightmare, to be kindly reasoned with when sincere; to be remorselessly thrust aside when acting the demagogue. (Cheers.) The principle of Canadian nationality has taken too firm a hold of our people to permit them to merge their distinct life in that of a nation whose institutions give no warrant of permanency, as they afford no guarantee of real individual and religious liberty. (Renewed cheers.)

Independence then and annexation being both out of the question there remains Imperial Federation. As we have shown it does not intrench on local rights, but presupposes them, and ensures their continuance. We are taunted with not offering a detailed plan of federation. Well this taunt simply proves that we are not of the school of doctrinaire fools, who think that a constitution may be written out somewhat after the manner of a geometrical demonstration, by reasoning from abstract principles, and theoretical identities. (Laughter.) The man of theory in mechanics will tell you that in such a system of pulleys a power of such a value will raise a weight of so many pounds; but the practical mechanic knows that it will not. Allowance must be made for friction, for the rigidity of cordage and for other impediments. And so in the work of planning constitutions, the practical wisdom to be gained by experience, by

interchange of views, and by a careful study of interests involved is required; not the crude theories of abstract reasoners.

When the Barons of England, headed, I may remind you, by an archbishop, made a stand for constitutional freedom, they were satisfied to lay down a few general principles, leaving it to the experience of successive generations to develop and mould them into organic shape. So it is with us. We move now on broad lines; the resolution in hand indicates the general outline of the federation idea, but only intelligent discussion, patient labor on the part of men in every portion of the empire, and widening knowledge of mutual commercial interests can fill in the details. All this will come in good time; all this is fast approaching. The problem of Imperial Federation will soon be ripe for solution, then it will be solved. (Applause.)

Nations can, if they will, rise to the height of their destinies. The seeming puzzles of to-day will be the sport of school boys to-morrow. We, Canadians, with our untold sources of wealth and our unsurpassed facilities by sea and land, would be the veriest cravens that ever disgraced humanity, were we to fold our hands in helpless despondency, and shrink from facing the national problem that confronts us. (Loud applause.) Placed between the old time usages of Europe, and the more flippant manners of the United States, we have learned what to avoid in the laws of each, and now stand forth as the model of liberty that is not license, and of order born of justice and nourished by a respect for mutual rights. With all these advantages we are fitted to be, and we will surely be, the prime factor in Imperial Federation. (Cheers.)

Let us realize the vastness of our resources, the advantages of our situation, and, as a consequence, our responsibility to the human race. The blessing which we enjoy we should seek to diffuse; this we can do by helping to build up a federation of autonomous states united not for purposes of aggression but for the maintenance of mutual rights and the protection of common interests—a federation of which justice and religion shall be the basis, and well ordered liberty the result. (Cheers.) This may be called a dream, even as all great undertakings have been so named in their initial stages; but it is what Longfellow calls

Insanity of noble minds,
That never falters nor abates
Till all that it foresees, it finds,
Or what it cannot find, creates."

(Prolonged Cheering).

I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

CHARLES H. CAHAN.

I rise to second the resolution which His Grace has proposed in such an eloquent, exhaustive, and statesmanlike address. The question under discussion is a momentous one, involving, as its solution does, not only the political destiny of the people of the British Isles, but also that of all citizens of the British Dominions throughout the world. It is proposed to lay the foundations of the British Empire upon a broader plane, and to raise thereon a political superstructure which shall assure to all subjects of the Crown in the self-governing colonies all the rights and privileges of British citizenship—full civil and religious liberty—and at the same time combine the resources of all for the maintenance of the Unity of the Empire. English statesmen have been too apt to regard the British Isles as if they comprised the whole Britannic Empire, and by reason of the very narrowness of their view, they have so deceived themselves as to believe that a solution of the problem of local self-government in their own kingdom vitally concerns the real unity or implies the dismemberment of the British Empire. We in Canada have already settled that question so far as it immediately concerns ourselves by assuring to each province of the Dominion complete autonomy in provincial affairs. (Cheers.) The idea of Imperial Federation involves the maintenance and the development of the principle of local self-government; for its advocates throughout the Empire affirm as the cardinal principle of this movement that the control of local parliaments over local affairs shall remain wholly untouched and as unrestricted as at present. The problem of Imperial Federation involves the question of Home Rule; (Cheers) and yet it is a more momentous issue; it concerns the real and permanent Unity of the Empire. The time is at hand when Great Britain must decide whether she will confer upon the subjects of the Crown throughout the Empire all the rights and privileges, with all the responsibilities of British citizenship; and when the colonies must determine whether they will accept these responsibilities and assist in working out the Imperial destiny of the British race. (Cheers.)

English statesmen have profited by the mistakes of Grenville and Lord North, which lost to the Crown one-half of British North America, when they refused to the New England States the political status which the wealth and population of the American Colonies deserved,—the rights and privileges of British citizenship—and provoked them to work out their own political destiny on independent lines. Those colonies were thus lost to the Empire; but in their stead a new Colonial Empire has sprung up, until in Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and the West Indies alone, there are ten or twelve millions of British subjects, for the most part of European descent, who can be permanently retained in the Empire only by

means of some scheme of Imperial Federation. English statesmen now recognize that Great Britain and the colonies are mutually dependent, and that a closer union is inevitable, if the present power and prestige of the Empire is to be maintained. In England the idea of Imperial Federation has received the endorsement of leading members of both parties, and the problem is now rapidly developing its own solution.

But it is urged, by those who cavil at the work of this Federation League, that no practical scheme has yet been proposed in all its details. No cast-iron constitution could at once be formulated for the whole Empire. The Constitution of Great Britain has had an organic growth. What the vital energy of the seed or the plant is to its organic growth that the will and determination of the public mind is to the development of constitutional government—to the political destiny of a free people. The growth of the British Constitution has been marked by three stages, first by a regal rule, then government by the aristocracy, and now by the democracy. The problem of Imperial Federation is to extend this democracy so that for exclusively imperial affairs it shall include not only the electorate of the British Isles, but the twelve millions of British subjects in the self-governing colonies. The Canadian Provinces have already solved an equally difficult problem, (Cheers) and British statesmen have in the past solved more difficult problems in the development of constitutional government. We are not prepared for a confession that the British mind has become so enfeebled that it is unequal to the task proposed. (Renewed cheers.)

We Canadians cannot afford to rest inactive on our oars and drift to a destiny for the determination of which we are responsible. The Imperial Federationists in this country are persuaded that the idea which they advocate will prove most advantageous to Canada as well as to the Empire as a whole. We do not know what possibilities may even now be quickening in the womb of the future. We believe that it is the duty of public men to educate public sentiment in preparation for changes that are inevitable. We are at present joined to the Empire by allegiance, and by our imperial aspirations. Two pieces of steel when cold or merely warm cannot be welded together; but raise them to the white heat and at one stroke of the hammer they become permanently united. (Applause.) In Germany the question of federation had been discussed for years until one great event in the history of that country effected, in a few months, the permanent union of its once dissevered dominions and principalities. One similar event in our own history may prove to be of vast significance to this country. Let the United States for instance, refuse to ratify the fishery treaty which their own executive have negotiated, let them instead put in force the retaliatory measure and cut off all Canadian commerce, and one such single act would raise the federation sentiment in England and

Canada to the white heat, and thus the consolidation of the Empire might speedily be accomplished. (Cheers.)

The imperial sentiment is rapidly growing in Great Britain. In his Jubilee Ode Lord Tennyson voiced the aspiration of the people of the mother country :

"Sharers of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last?
Shall not we thro' good and ill
Cleave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call,
'Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one Imperial whole—
One with Britain heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!" (Applause.)

Australasia is replying, "we will!" From Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Halifax, Canadians are re-echoing the same "we will." Give us the rights and privileges of British citizenship and we will unite to consolidate our common Empire. (Cheers.) Since the unification of Germany, its statesmen have obtained a controlling voice in swaying the destinies of Europe. At the February meeting of the Reichstag, Bismarck voiced the national aspiration of his countrymen when he said: "We Germans fear God, but none else." To attain to such a proud position, what material sacrifice would prove too great? And yet a still greater destiny in promoting the civilization and in maintaining the peace of the civilized world is open to the British people if they resolutely work out the problem of Imperial Federation. (Applause.)

ROBT. MOTTON.

I am unexpectedly called upon to speak to this resolution. After the brilliant speech of His Grace the Archbishop, and the forcible and convincing remarks of the learned seconder, the most judicious course for me to pursue at this late hour, is to husband my resources and observe the utmost brevity. I do not shrink from assuming the responsibility of supporting this resolution in its entirety. While the idea of Imperial Federation challenges the support of this meeting composed of the loyal inhabitants of my native city, I venture to predict that the resolution will meet with their unqualified approbation. (Cheers.) It need not be a matter of surprise that the discussion of this important subject should necessarily provoke opposition and hostile criticism on the one hand, from those who have not taken the trouble to inform themselves upon its merits; and on the other hand from those who hesitate not to declare their preference for the disintegration rather than the consolidation of the Empire. However, the opposition that this agitation has evoked, will greatly aid in the development of the

details of the scheme. Opposition is the life of every agitation as well as of trade. Denude this movement of legitimate opposition and free discussion, and you at once eliminate from it the principal element of its success. Without a vigorous, outspoken, healthy opposition in the initial stages of the agitation we might reasonably presage failure and absolute discomfiture. (Cheers.) But the kind of opposition we have met with from those who prefer disintegration of the Colonial Empire and annexation to the United States, need not give us any trouble. They are a mere handful. And if, you, Sir Adams, were to take a standing vote at this meeting, on this resolution, you would find the numerical strength of the minority to which I refer, would be so insignificant that it would not be sufficient to form a respectable corporal's guard. (Cheers.)

We cheerfully invite the opposition of those who will discuss the matter upon its merits—divesting it of party and everything calculated to impugn the motives of its supporters. We appeal to this meeting as we hope to appeal to every loyal Canadian to assist their fellow-colonists throughout the vast Colonial Empire in seeking consolidation—and that thereby we may become an integral portion of the realm of Great Britain—inviting in closer and more enduring fellowship and union the hearts of millions predisposed to loyalty and affection. Non-interference with existing rights of colonial parliaments is guaranteed; the scheme proposed, subject to the approval of the Colonists, is such as shall combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the “maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights.” (Cheers.) And further adopting the language of the League literature, we invite the unity of sympathy, interest, purpose, of every lover of his country's welfare. The consummation of all this is inevitable, only a question of time, when the details are perfected. We are simply asking in the resolutions offered to-night, the affirmation of a grand idea, embodying a sentiment that will find a responsive echo in every loyal breast—the ultimate fruition of which will be “unity of the Empire in the bonds of friendship and permanent alliance—that will be a guarantee of peace and consequently of the advancement of the human race.” It will not be until this federation is thus accomplished that the world will be able to realize the true greatness and surpassing magnitude of the British Empire.

Truly the Rev. Dr. Partridge in his aggressive address, inspired me with martial ardour, and I was rejoiced when I found he had not committed me to a declaration of war; for, I must confess that if in an unguarded moment I had done so, it is not unlikely I would have followed the example of the sailor, who in one of Nelson's battles, was found upon his knees on the deck of the vessel praying amidst the fire of shot and shell, and, when asked by his officer what he was praying for, replied that he was “praying that the shots might be



divided like the prize money—the largest share amongst the officers.” (Laughter.)

I hope that when this movement is thoroughly appreciated, and its principles are understood by all classes of our fellow-colonists in Canada; that, lifted above the mire and mists of party and fairly out of the old ruts, there will be such an unanimity of sentiment that the accomplishment of Imperial Federation will be greatly accelerated. (Cheers.) The people desire more information upon the subject, therefore, let the literature of the League be more widely disseminated. With the large display of National bunting—emblems of England's greatness—surrounding the platform, it occurs to me, that I cannot better conclude than by quoting from a poem written by the late Hon. Joseph Howe, on the “Old Flag”:

“Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving—
The rose of Old England the roadside perfumes,
The Shamrock and Thistle the North winds are braving,
Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms.”

And speaking of England:

“Every flash of her genius our pathway enlightens—
Every field she explores we are beckoned to tread,
Each laurel she gathers, our future day brightens—
We joy with her living, and mourn for her dead.”

The second resolution was then unanimously approved by the audience.

W. C. SILVER.

The Federation of the Empire is a grand and far-reaching question, fraught with most momentous issues, and affects the well-being of a larger number of people than any other now before the world. Some of the keenest intellects of the day tell us, and we accept it as truth, that this Empire, which for a thousand years or more has braved the fierce storms of war abroad and political strife at home, ever growing stronger in the field, and wiser and more liberty-loving in the forum, until a position of power and extent of territory has been reached such as the world never saw before, (Cheers) the home and centre of liberty, justice and order—that this, our noble patrimony, bought and preserved for us by the blood of the noblest and best of her sons, which has been shed so freely in her behalf in all ages of her history, has arrived at a stage in which confederation—a drawing closer together of her vast domains—or else disintegration is inevitable. We simply accept the first, and will maintain it by every proper and lawful means with all our might, believing the last to be fraught with manifold and great evils to the Empire and the world. We believe that thus the

future peace of the world will be more assured and that a United Empire means not civil war but an extension of the principles which assure blessed peace. (Cheers.)

We trust that when our aims and the means through which we are battling to promote them are fully made known, the vast majority of the people of the British Isles at home, and the Colonists abroad, will approve of them as a whole, and that thus the force of public opinions will insure their accomplishment in due time. At this early stage we have much to do on the platform and through the press, for many are not yet with us who, we feel, are our friends at heart. A widely circulated and influential trade journal, published at Toronto, tells its readers, in alluding to Imperial Federation, that Canada has been ruling her own affairs for more than one hundred years, and that it is too late to expect her to hand over the administration of her internal government to a British Parliament. We recognize full the independent, liberty-loving instincts of the citizens of the British Isles, and we know right well the sturdy sons of Canada are not a whit behind their brethren on the other side of the water in their readiness to maintain these proclivities which they brought with them from the old land; and we assure them one and all, English and French descent alike, that there is no intention whatever of any such interference in local matters, (hear, hear) or in any other save by the free consent of all the parties to the matter in hand. The words of our noble President, Lord Rosebery, should dissipate such fears forever. He says:—"We aim to draw the different portions of the Empire as close together as may be consistent with that free national development which is the birth-right of every British subject throughout the world." (Cheers.)

Now we all know honest old John Bright too well to count him as one easily induced to follow our standard. He was born just a thousand years too soon. He was certainly meant for the millennium, not for this era when continental Europe is one vast camp of armed men, when in our times the fiercest and bloodiest civil war ever recorded in the pages of history swept over the most populous and important part of America, at the very doors of Canada. Yet it is instructing to note that while in 1884 he said Imperial Federation was all nonsense, perfectly absurd, not worth a thought; in 1888 he says: "It is a dream, yet I read eagerly all its publications." (Laughter.) Let the good old man alone; when he realizes how strong a preservative a United Empire will be of world-wide peace, even he may cast his lot in with us.

This question cannot nor will be made a party issue. (Applause.) Let us rest assured of that. (Renewed cheering.) It will assert its own place and float triumphantly above all mere party questions. Men of all parties will meet and join hands on its broad and liberal platform. It will be as when the bill creating the combined fleet in

Australian waters was presented to Parliament, out of a House of some fifty-two members all but the merest fraction endorsed it with such a will that it passed more speedily and with greater eclat than any other in the history of Australia; or, as when Johnson moved and Joe Howe seconded in our own House the bill that placed every available man and every available dollar at the disposal of the authorities for defence. (Cheers.)

The resolution which I have the honor of moving approves of the steps that have been taken towards obtaining closer commercial relations between Canada and other Colonies, as also with Great Britain; which steps received the hearty approval of Lord Lansdowne, and will, I trust, commend themselves to the great majority of our people. The existing laws, governing in some most vital points the commerce of the Empire, never had our consent. They were enacted when Canada's whole population would hardly count one million, and when Australia and the Cape were of still less account. We were then in our infancy, our consent was not asked. We have now grown to manhood. We ask for a conference of the Colonies that these trade relations may be fully discussed. In the discussion of these questions we have a very great interest. Surely the changed conditions of the Colonies, their increased population—an increase so rapid that it is threefold greater than the increase in Great Britain,—the changed conditions of agriculture, manufacturers and locomotion, the changed condition of trade the world over—these form a full and sufficient reason for representative men to meet and to discuss laws affecting the commerce of the Empire, which were enacted a half century ago, with a view of ascertaining if there are not modifications possible which would be to the advantage of the Colonies and of England as well. (Hear, hear.)

In 1835 the total trade of the British possessions, other than the mother country, was 160 million dollars. In 1885 it had increased to 840 million dollars.

In 1836 the tons of shipping entered and cleared in British possessions were 7 million. In 1886 the tonnage had reached 78 millions.

In 1837 the population of the United Kingdom was 25½ million, of North American Colonies and Australia 2½ million. In 1885 in United Kingdom was 36 million; the North American Colonies and Australia, 8 millions; now no doubt nearly 10 millions.

The tea trade of India and her unlimited capabilities for producing and exporting wheat were not known a half century ago; nor did England recognize the capabilities of Australia or Canada for the production of those food supplies of which she imports so much.

If a way could be found for our brethren in the West Indies and Bermuda to favour our bread stuffs, our soaps, candles and cocoa, our cheese, lard, and provisions; our fish, our oils and lumber by a moderate tariff concession, while Canada in return favoured their

sugar, their coffee, their other smaller exports, surely it would prove to be an earnest, an expectation of a large increase of trade between us. We could turn to Australia and find products of Canada, notably, the products of the forest, in demand there, which under a friendly tariff would develop into an immense trade from the Western Province of our Dominion. (Applause.)

A small concession in our favour from Britain even in minor articles as cheese, butter, fruit, etc., would raise the value of every acre of cultivated land in a large part of Canada, and produce an activity in our commerce that can hardly be measured. The proportion of trade to and from foreign countries is constantly decreasing. Foreigners make war on our products of the soil, the sea and the factory with all their might. The great aim of their tariffs is to keep trade away from our Empire, and to a considerable extent they are succeeding. Under all these circumstances these vast changes in population, in production, in trade, it is quite time that we Colonists should meet in council to consider the situation, that is all that this resolution asks for. (Cheers.) I therefore move :

That this meeting, in view of the beneficial benefits which have followed from the Colonial Conference, which was convened at London last year, heartily approves the recent action of the Executive of the Halifax Branch of the League in memorializing His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the eve of his departure from Canada, desiring him to invite the governments of the several colonies to join in constituting a conference to devise measures for the development of reciprocal trade between the colonies under their rule, and of all with the mother country, and to discuss such other proposals, which may be made, as will tend to consolidate the common interests of the Empire.

JOHN F. STAIRS.

The issue which we have before us for discussion to-night is one of the most important that has ever been brought before a public meeting in Canada. To unite the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India, into one great Empire—in which trade between its different parts shall be carried on more advantageously than between any part and foreign nations; in which all the parts, now to a large extent separate and without defensive organization, shall be united for mutual defence; and in which each part shall have a voice in all that concerns common interests—is worth the careful consideration of its merchants and manufacturers who are more immediately interested in its trade aspects, of its soldiers and sailors to whom more particularly appertains all that concerns defence, and of the highest ambition of its greatest statesmen who have charge of all that affects its welfare. (Cheers.)

While I fully realize it may be to our interest as Canadians to help forward this great project for much loftier reasons than those effected by dollars and cents, and hold it may often be necessary for

a nation as for individuals to sacrifice material interests when the more important ones of honesty, right, and patriotism, are concerned, I am inclined to think if Imperial Federation is to take hold of the minds of the people, and to be established upon a lasting basis, it is essential that the people should see in it elements of increased prosperity for themselves through greater facilities for profitable trading. All supporters of Imperial Federation will be the more willing to argue it from this stand-point, because in Imperial Federation is to be found the true solution of the trade problems agitating the United Kingdom, while it will give to Canada better markets for her surplus natural products than any reciprocity treaty with the United States which we have ever enjoyed or which has ever been proposed. (Applause.)

In manufactures Canada could not expect to compete with the United States for many years, if ever; and of natural products the United States, with few exceptions, exports a surplus of what Canada has to sell. When considering this aspect of Imperial Federation we must remember that if our agitation amounts to anything, sooner or later, the question of special trade advantages between all parts of the Empire must be faced; if they can be secured it must be admitted much will have been done towards securing Imperial Federation. (Applause.) Difficulties may stand in the way, but of one thing we may be sure it will not be Canada or any of the self-governing Colonies which will raise them, but the mother country; and even in her case they will not be found insurmountable, since to English statesmen the question of dismemberment of the Empire has now become a practical one; to avoid it they are looking now for some means to consolidate the Empire; and so important do some of them consider it that they will be willing to go a long way in making concessions to the Colonies, even, if necessary, to sacrificing the free trade policy of the past forty years. (Hear, hear.)

When we claim that the colonies should be placed upon a better footing in the English markets than foreign countries, we are often asked: "What argument? You have now as free access to her markets as any other country. Everything you send there goes in free of duty; while everything England wishes to sell to Canada is taxed." To this we reply: "Exactly so, we treat their goods as we do goods from the United States; they treat ours as they do goods from the United States." Can they blame us? As they did unto us so have we done unto them. But whose fault is it that the Colonies treat England as they treat France, the United States, or any foreign country? Not the fault of the Colonies certainly. Does any one for a moment suppose that slight advantages given to the Colonies in her markets by England, about the time responsible government was being given to them, or the continuance of those they had many years ago, would not have secured for all time to English

artizans and operatives advantages in the Colonial markets over those of all foreign countries. (Cheers.)

But this is not all by any means. Can England blame us, when she places in her treaties, provisions which absolutely, according to the interpretations put upon them by her own law officers, prevent the colonies giving her any advantages in their tariffs they do not to foreign nations? Could short-sightedness have gone further? Are Canadian or Australian statesmen responsible for this? And if, for instance, Canada were disposed to admit English cotton goods at 10 per cent. duty, can the Manchester manufacturer say anything to us for not doing so, if English statesmen should say: "No, you must not do it, unless you let American cotton goods in as well." (Applause.) We are told this is the present state of affairs; if true, we should not rest until everything in England's treaties with foreign nations which prevents the colonies treating England in any manner they like is abrogated, and only that retained which regards all this vast empire as a unit.

I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. (Applause).

PROF. C. F. FRASER.

I was prepared to speak for an hour and a half upon Imperial Federation, but considering the lateness of the hour, I have no desire to impose upon the good nature of the audience, therefore I will occupy but a minute and a half in the remarks that I am about to make. The unrestricted debate in the Canadian Commons (laughter) upon reciprocity between Canada and the United States, and upon Commercial Union, has proved beyond the question of a doubt that annexation to the United States would be the logical outcome of the policy of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union. At the same time it is quite evident that Canada cannot for a long time continue to occupy the secondary position of a colony of Great Britain, and that as Canadian independence is both undesirable and impracticable, the future can hold in store for us, but one of the two courses now open to us,—either annexation or Imperial Federation. Annexation is distasteful to the people of Canada,—first, because it involves the dissolution of the union which at present exists between Great Britain and this country; and second, because the form of government adopted by the United States would give to our people no guarantee of permanency, while it also contrasts unfavorably with the modified form of the British constitution, under which we now enjoy as great a degree of liberty as that falling to the lot of any people under the sun. Closer federation within the Empire would preserve to our posterity all the rights and privileges of British subjects, and would entitle them to share in the glorious

heritage of British traditions, British conquests, British acquisitions, and British enterprise. (Cheers.) If through the good offices of the Federation League, the Colonies can secure material advantages as well as preserve sentimental ties of kin and kith, then we may hope to see as the outcome of this movement a world-wide empire, compared with which the Empire of the invincible Macedonian would appear small indeed. (Cheers.) Every patriotic Nova Scotian, every true Canadian, should give this movement his hearty and unqualified support, so that the day of its consummation may be hastened, till we in this country are no longer British Colonists or British subjects merely, but British citizens. (Applause.)

The audience then unanimously approved of the third resolution.

The meeting closed at 10.30 p. m., the band playing while the large audience joined in singing "God Save the Queen."

VIVAT REGINA.